

012387

ENVER HOXHA

R E P O R T

ON THE ROLE AND TASKS
OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT FOR THE
COMPLETE TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM IN ALBANIA

*Submitted at the 4th Congress
of the Democratic Front of Albania
September 14, 1967*

Second Edition

The «8 Nëntori» publishing house
TIRANA, 1974



ENVER HOXHA

Comrades!

We have gathered here today, at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front, of this great revolutionary political organization of the Albanian people, to draw the balance-sheet of our work and struggle, to sum up the experience achieved and to line out the great tasks emerging before the organization of our Front, to put into life the historic ideas and decisions of the 5th Congress of our glorious Party.

The present Congress meets in the days of the marked jubilee — the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Democratic Front. Since that historic day when the basis of the great political union of the Albanian people, sponsored by the Communist Party, was laid at heroic Peza in the heat of battle of the National Liberation War, the Front has passed through great trials and has play-

ed a role of primary importance in the whole life of our country, during the National-Liberation War against the nazi-fascist invaders for an independent, democratic people's Albania, as well as after the liberation of the country, in the struggle for further developing the revolution, for building socialism and defending the homeland.

Twenty five years that have elapsed from the day of the founding of the Front constitute the most brilliant period of the age-old history of the Albanian people. Along this period our people, united as one in the Front, under the Marxist-Leninist guidance of our Party of Labour, have achieved great revolutionary victories which have changed the situation and the destinies of our homeland from the very foundations.

Albania, once an enslaved, half-colonial country and an object of barter in the hands of imperialist wolves, today is a free, socialist, independent, sovereign and inviolable country. The Albanian people, until yesterday barbarously crushed by reactionary regimes, today hold the state power in their own hands, are almighty masters of their own country and are building a new life for themselves with their own hands.

Old Albania — the most backward country in

Europe, the land of the wooden plough, of illiteracy and of malaria, of bourgeois, big-landowner and imperialist exploitation, does not exist any more. Now the world knows another Albania — new socialist Albania, with modern and developed industry and agriculture, with massive education and culture, Albania which marches with irresistible impetus towards the full construction of socialist society and where the life of the working people is becoming better and better from day to day.

Our homeland is advancing at rapid rates on the road towards becoming an industrial-agrarian country. Industrial production, compared to that of 1938, has grown more than 40 times. Today, numerous mines and combines, plants and factories of heavy, light and food-processing industries have been erected in all the corners of the country. Entirely new and modern branches, such as metallurgy and chemical industry, have been added from year to year to our socialist industry. Gigantic hydro- and thermo-power plants have been constructed and are under construction with a view to supplying our country and people with more electric power and light. Our young industry has become today a powerful basis for the entire economic development, it has given and continues to

give ever increasing assistance to the development and progress of our countryside and socialist agriculture.

Agriculture too bears no comparison with the past. From a fragmented and backward agriculture, it has now become an entirely collectivized and advanced agriculture developing successfully towards socialism. It supplies more and more bread grains and other agricultural and dairy products for the needs of the almost twice as great population of the country, and is successfully providing for the increasing demands of the socialist industry for raw materials. Compared with 1938, the sown area has increased 213%. In comparison with the pre-war period, the irrigated area has grown 7 1/2 times. Great land reclamation projects carried out by the People's Power, have brought marked changes on the map of Albania: the marshes of Maliq and Terbuf, of Juba and Roskovec, Vurg, Thumana, Gjadër, etc. have now disappeared. More than 8,900 tractors are now at work in the plains, on the hills and mountainsides, instead of 30 tractors which Albania possessed before liberation.

Colossal changes have been wrought in the field of education and culture. The age-long sore

of illiteracy and ignorance has vanished forever; people's education has developed in depth and breadth; culture and arts have become and are becoming indeed the possession of the broad masses of the people. The training of thousands of qualified cadres from among the sons of workers and peasants has created the vast army of people's intelligentsia, loyal to the end to people's interests and to the ideals of revolution and socialism. Today, the State University and the other high institutes, nearly 3,700 schools of primary, 8 and 12 year grade education, various scientific institutions, the «New Albania» Film-studio, powerful broadcasting stations, the Opera and Ballet Theatre, the large Palace of Culture and a vast network of theatres, variety play houses, homes and hearths of culture spread knowledge, culture and the light of socialism to the remotest corners of the homeland.

All these superb successes have been achieved thanks to the tireless work, the high socialist sense of duty and the unflinching revolutionary impetus of our wonderful people, heroic working class, cooperativist peasantry and people's intelligentsia who, inspired and led by Marxist-Leninist wisdom, courage and resolution of our Party of Labour,

united in steel-like unity in the ranks of the Democratic Front, surmounted and overcame with unparalleled self-denial all the difficulties and obstacles created by the inherited backwardness and the hostile blockades of the imperialists and modern Khrushchevite, Titoite and other revisionists.

Such, in general lines, is the balance-sheet of the historic victories, with which our people come to the 4th Congress and the 25th anniversary of the Democratic Front. Our Congress is carrying on its proceedings at a time when the socialist revolution in Albania is deepening and developing successfully in all fields, along the lines set by the 5th Congress of the Party. Everywhere throughout our homeland remarkable movements and initiatives have sprung up, which further revolutionize the conscience and world-outlook of our men, their life and work. Deep political, ideological and economic transformations are taking place in the life of our country and people. We are living today in a period of great, unprecedented creative activity, which is being accomplished by a revolutionary people, under the guidance of a party inspired by a revolutionary ideology.

The calling of the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front at the present historic moments is

of particular importance. Before us stand great tasks of responsibility to carry ahead the revolution and our socialist construction, to further strengthen the economy and people's power, to fulfil the 4th five-year plan, to educate the masses in a revolutionary class spirit and in the feelings of love for the socialist homeland. All these are great tasks for the Front also because there is not a single question relating to the life of the people or country that is of no concern to the Front. The primary task of our Congress is to give a new and powerful impulse to all the work of the Front, to strengthen it furthermore, to raise still higher its role in our system of the dictatorship of proletariat.

THE HISTORIC ROLE OF THE FRONT IN THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY, DEFENCE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

The Democratic Front has always been, in all its stages, a powerful weapon of the Party for the political unity of the people around the Party, a great platform for the development of the vigorous self-activity and initiative of the great masses of the people in war and construction.

The experience gained during the 25 years of the existence of the Front, which has fully borne out the correct policy of our Party towards this organization, has a great theoretic and practical importance. That is why the continual study and summing up of this experience is a task of primary

import for all of us, because in this manner the Party organizations, and those of the Front as well, will be able to draw as many useful lessons as possible for their work in the future.

1. The Party of Labour of Albania — the Sole Guiding Force and Political Party in our Country

The Democratic Front is the direct continuation of the National Liberation Front, which was born, grew and became strong as a voluntary political union of the broad masses of the people. Its foundations were laid from the grass-roots, in the fight against the fascist invaders. The Front is the work of the Party. The Marxist-Leninist Party of the working class has been at its head, as its guiding spirit right from the beginning and ever since. It has won this leading role through its correct line which expresses and upholds the vital interests of the Albanian people, and through its heroic struggle, the struggle of the Albanian communists who, by their courage, firmness, their spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, have demonstrated that they are the most consistent fighters for the cause of the people, homeland and social-

ism. The Front was not and is not a political party, it was not and has not become a coalition of parties, for there was no and there is no other party in our country besides our Party.

Our Party constitutes, perhaps, the unique example of a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class that has been created in a country where there did not exist formerly either a socialist, a social-democratic or other bourgeois party, remaining as the only party of the working class and the only political party in the country's life.

In the first period following the victory of the proclamation of independence, for some time intentions have existed and the first attempts were made at creating bourgeois liberal parties, in some cases even with progressive tendencies. However, they disappeared before they were born because their programs were not clear and combative, they failed to express the aspirations of the masses and the objective tendencies of the development of Albania in that period, while from an organizational point of view, they were, so to say, inexistent and, therefore, they have left no trace in our country's life.

With the advent to power of the bourgeois-landowners' regime of Zog, as suppressor of all

democratic liberties, of free expression of opinion and attempt at organization, all possibility vanished for the creation of different legal political parties by the oppressed and exploited classes. However, even the ruling exploiting classes, the feudal chiefs and the bourgeoisie, did not succeed in creating their political parties. As we know, the system of many bourgeois parties exists in developed capitalist countries. This is bound up with the situation of the bourgeoisie itself, as a class which developed and was consolidated since a long time before, where even its diverse groups and strata create separate political parties in order to safeguard their interests and position within the state. With us the situation was altogether different. Albania found itself between two historic periods, between that of the decline of feudalism and that of the development of capitalism, where big landowners as an old class were heading towards their ruin and where the bourgeoisie had not attained that degree of development to have a single political party, let alone a number of them. It is under these conditions that the fascist invasion found Albania.

In this ominous situation that was created for the destinies of our homeland, which not only had

lost its freedom but was also facing the danger of being even exterminated as a nation the imperative duty of each and every Albanian was to seize arms and to start the sacred anti-fascist war, the war for national liberation. It was precisely in these decisive moments, in a revolutionary situation, in the heat of the liberation war, that the Communist Party of Albania was born as the party of the working class, the party which, through its program, responded to the desires and aspirations of the broad people's masses, to the concrete objective conditions that our country was going through. The Communist Party of Albania was created by Albanian communists as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party, as a party of the new type, judging from the theory that guided it, the organizational principles on which it was erected, and its political program. It was born as an objective necessity in order to lead the revolutionary war for national and social liberation.

Thus, the only party of the working class was created from the people's bosom, with a clear and scientifically elaborated political, organizational, military, economic and social program. The working class, though few in number, was the most revolutionary and most progressive class of

our society. No class, no other political stratum or group, did emerge with its own party to take in its own hands the standard of national-liberation, because none of them was fit to play an independent role in the political arena of the country, to have its own say, to create its own stable political party on solid ideological and organizational bases.

The Communist Party of Albania was and remained the only vanguard party which took up and carried through the difficult but glorious task of mobilizing and organizing the people, leading them in the liberation war against foreign invaders and home traitors. Thanks to the Party, to its correct revolutionary leadership, our people triumphed over their enemies, defeated them and drove them away beyond the borders of the homeland, demolished entirely the old state power, erected their new state power of the proletarian dictatorship, secured and strengthened their complete freedom and independence and are now successfully building socialist society.

The traitors of the «Balli Kombëtar» («National Front») and all their friends, the U.S. and British imperialists and others, have slandered and continue slandering that, allegedly, the Commu-

nist Party of Albania neither permitted the creation of other political parties in our country nor was it prepared to cooperate with them in the liberation war. It is evident that in this manner our enemies aim at portraying our Party as a non-democratic, sectarian party and rigid as to tactics. The objective reality, however, categorically rejects these slanders. It is a historic fact that in our country no other political anti-fascist parties have been created, the Communist Party of Albania excluded. Had any such progressive parties been formed our Party would not have refused to cooperate with them in the question of organizing the struggle against the invaders. As a Marxist-Leninist Party there was no reason why it would have been afraid of cooperating with them. In the documents of the Communist Party of Albania of the war period it is emphasized explicitly:

«... we are not against the formation of different political partial parties but, if these parties are to be formed, they should have in their program, first and foremost, the war against the invader, the war in deeds and not in words, and these parties should take part in the National

Liberation Front, enjoying the right to safeguard their individuality».

In consideration of the historic fact that no other political parties existed in our country, we assert that for the working class and for the Albanian people, for the cause of revolution and socialism in Albania, this was a great and incalculable good, while for the bourgeoisie, for the national and international reaction, it was a great misfortune, a fatal loss. What character and what aims would the other political parties have had, what would they have represented and whose interests would they have upheld? Obviously, the interests of beys, aghas, merchants, capitalists of the city and of the countryside. Had they been created, they would have played a reactionary role, they would have served directly the fascist invaders or otherwise they would have collaborated in different forms both with the invaders and the Anglo-American imperialists against the people. Their entire activity would have been effected to the detriment of people's unity, to the detriment of the liberation war, it would have been directed against the people's power, against the great economic, political and

organizational reforms, it would have been detrimental to the reconstruction of the country and socialism.

This was most convincingly proved during the National Liberation War, when the political organizations of the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaleteti», in which the representatives of the ruling and exploiting classes of the country had gathered, sided openly with the nazi-fascist invaders and became tools of the Anglo-American imperialists in order to undermine the liberation war of the Albanian people. This was proved likewise after the liberation of the country, when the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the U.S. and British agents, Riza Dani, Shefqet Beja and Gjergj Kokosh and others attempted at creating a political party to undermine the people's power and the construction of new socialist Albania, an attempt which was crushed by our Party and the Democratic Front.

It is precisely because the bourgeoisie and the internal and external reaction could not succeed in attaining these anti-popular objectives, that they accuse our Party and regime of people's democracy of «suppressing democracy and liberty». It is evident what democracy and liberty mean to them. They

demand democracy and liberty for the people's enemies, for the big landowners and capitalists, for the reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries. That is why they cannot suffer that in Albania there should be only one party, that is why under the guise of an alleged «democracy», they demand that there should be many parties, so that a real democracy for the people might never be established, a really democratic state might never be built, socialism might never be constructed, and the iron heel of capital might continuously dominate over our people.

In our country the interests of the whole working people are entirely represented and upheld by the Party of Labour, the organized vanguard of our working class. The interests and aims of the working class, which the Party of Labour represents, are also the interests and aims of our working peasantry and socialist intelligentsia. All these strata of the population are united in the Democratic Front, the only front of the Albanian people, and strive to put into effect the Party's policy and directives, in which people's aspirations are embodied. Then, to whom would other parties within or outside the Front have been of any use, the interests of which class would they have repre-

sented and upheld, as it is obvious that every political party expresses and supports the interests of a given class, strives to realize its aims, leads its struggle for power? It is evident that they would have been of use only to those strata and elements of an exploiting minority of big landowners and capitalists, who were defeated in war and through war, who were smashed politically and economically by the working class in alliance with the peasantry under the guidance of the Party, by the proletarian dictatorship.

Our experience goes to show that, if the party of the working class follows a revolutionary, a really Marxist-Leninist line, if by its resolute and exemplary fight it boldly defends the interests of the people and the freedom and independence of the homeland, when no other bourgeois parties exist, it performs still better its historic mission for national liberation, for the accomplishment of socialist revolution and the construction of socialism.

2. The Front as Principal Link in the Political Union of our People

The Party can not go alone into war and revolution. The revolution is the doing of the masses. That is why the main and foremost duty of every revolutionary party is to make the masses conscious, to unite, organize and lead them. The best form, the most effective and best suited to the circumstances of our country at the time, which the Party found for this purpose, was the creation of the National-Liberation Front. The Conference of Peza which was held only ten months after the founding of the Party, laid the solid foundations for the political and organizational union of our people on a national scale, and adopted the program of the National Liberation War, elaborated by the Communist Party.

The National Liberation Front was the united front of the whole people against the foreign enemy who had invaded our country. The party line in the Front aimed at achieving the unity, regardless of class, region, political and religious opinions, of all genuine Albanians, of all the patriotic and democratic forces of the country, of all those who were ready to fight against the fas-

cist invaders and traitors for a free, independent and democratic People's Albania. This orientation was an entirely correct one and corresponded to our country's situation in those days, as internal class contradictions had receded to the second plan, whereas external contradictions between the Albanian people fighting for their freedom, independence and sovereignty, and the Italian and German invaders occupying our country, had come to the fore.

In implementing this line, the Front comprised in its ranks the sweeping majority of the population, the working class, the poor and middle peasantry, the petty and middle bourgeoisie of cities, the patriotic intellectuals and all the other anti-fascist elements. At the basis of the Front stood the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. This alliance is of vital importance to each and every country which rises to war and revolution, it constitutes the highest principle of proletarian dictatorship. However, in the conditions of our country where the working class was few in number and the peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of the population, the drawing of the latter into the struggle under the leadership of the working class and its revolution-

ary party was the decisive factor determining the fate of the war and of the revolution. Our Party had evaluated this situation correctly and seriously. The countryside became the main base and the peasantry, the principal force of our war of liberation. Our Party, as the party of the working class, expressed and upheld at the same time the interests of the working peasantry as well. The problems that preoccupied the peasantry, the economic, political and educational reforms at which they aspired were embodied in the Party program, were consistently defended and put into practice by our Party. In the Party of the working class the peasantry found for the first time in history their genuine and revolutionary leader in their struggle for freedom, land and prosperity.

The foreign policy of the National Liberation Front, inspired by the Party, aimed at an alliance with all anti-fascist states and peoples fighting against fascism, particularly with the Soviet Union which, through its wise policy and legendary war masterly led by great Stalin, had become the hope of the peoples for salvation from the fascist pest that was threatening them with extermination. Likewise, the line of the Front to collaborate with Great Britain

and the United States of America in the common war against the nazi-fascist coalition was correct. Nevertheless, never for an instant did we relax our revolutionary vigilance, because we were aware that we were bound to clash with the rapacious, colonialist, enslaving and oppressive aims of the imperialists towards peoples. And the course of events fully proved that we were right. The Anglo-American allies attempted by all means to get hold of the leadership of our National Liberation War, to eliminate the Front and the Communist Party and, at the end, to land on and invade our country, as they did in Greece. These attempts, however, met with failure, and this is the great merit of our Party and Front, which did not allow the imperialists to stick their nose into the internal affairs of our country.

The program of the National Liberation Front was in fact the minimum program of the Party. It was a clear, understandable, combative and revolutionary program. The primary tasks of this program were: relentless and uncompromising war against the invaders and traitors for the national liberation, freedom and independence of the country, for a people's democratic government; organizing a general armed uprising and creating a Na-

tional Liberation Army, organizing all-round political and economic assistance to the people's war, with the peasants and the town people as a decisive source of help; wrecking the regime of the invaders and their collaborators (who represented the interests of the main exploiting classes of the country), establishing the administration of National Liberation Councils as the people's sole political power, all-out political and ideological preparation of the masses for the people's general uprising and for the continuation, even after liberation, of the struggle to safeguard the victories to be achieved, to reconstruct the country and to effect great social and economic transformations in the interest of the people.

The National Liberation Front attained all these objectives set by the Party. It acquitted itself successfully of all the main tasks embodied in its revolutionary program. Thus, the war and experience confirmed that the Party had correctly acted in creating the Front, that it had set up a correct political line for the Front, which corresponded to the wishes and aspirations of the people in compliance with the historic conditions of our country.

The founding of the National-Liberation Front

was a death blow at the foreign invaders and all internal reactionaries who had made common cause with them. The latter were terrified by the revolutionary impetus of the National Liberation War, by the ever growing authority of the Communist Party and the strengthening of the political unity of the Albanian people in the framework of the Front. Facing this situation, the reactionary forces sounded the alarm of the great danger threatening them. At the beginning, they announced the creation of the «Balli Kombëtar» and, later on, the «Legaliteti» organizations, which were directly counterpoised to the National Liberation Front. These two organizations set up with the support of the Italian and German invaders and the incitement of the Anglo-American imperialists, were not political parties, but heterogeneous groupings of the reactionary forces of the country, of big landowners and merchants, of bourgeois intellectuals and reactionary clergymen, the scum of our society, who had made common cause with the invader.

What were these organizations after? In spite of their altogether insignificant nuances and their pseudo-patriotic and pseudo-nationalist disguise, their common aim was to liquidate the Communist Party, wreck the National Liberation Front, extin-

guish the National Liberation War, secure for themselves all the political power after the war in order to safeguard unimpaired their rule over the people. The policy of the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» was to ally with the fascist invaders against the National Liberation War of the Albanian people and the anti-fascist coalition of states and peoples fighting fascism. The primary thing for reaction and its traitorous organizations were their internal contradictions with the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front, which they had turned into antagonistic contradictions, attacking us, arms in hand, together with the invaders.

Our Party, loyal to its line regarding the National Liberation Front for the unity of all Albanians in the war against fascism, «regardless of religion, region and opinion», tried and did its utmost to impede the transformation of the contradictions with the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» into primary and antagonistic ones. The Party and the Front repeatedly appeal to them to fight in common against the invaders of the country, and attempted to show to them the correct course and make them abandon their way of treason in order to avoid fratricide. All these numerous

attempts of our Party and Front, however, were sabotaged by reaction. The Party was convinced that this was bound to happen, for it knew quite well the counter-revolutionary character of these organizations representing the interests of the big landowners and the bourgeoisie. But it was necessary to persuade a small number of persons who at first had various illusions about these organizations and the persons taking part in them as being «patriotic». These initially deceived persons had to be convinced by their own experience, in the heat of battle, that the «patriotism» of the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» leaders was a sham one, and their «patriotic» appeals were only demagoguery to disguise their treason.

The sole touchstone was the attitude towards the foreign enemy who had invaded our country. The Party and the Front asked these organizations to join in the war against the Italian and German invaders with all their forces and immediately, without waiting «when the day comes», unreservedly and without compromise. True to their way of treason, the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» far from firing a single shot against the invading enemy, united entirely with them in their war against the people. And that was not all. When

the end of the fascist invaders was round the corner, the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» passed openly into the service of Anglo-American imperialists, with the intention of snatching away, by their help, the victories from the hands of the people, and attaining what they did not attain by the help of nazi-fascist. Thus, the anti-popular and anti-national character of the big landowners, the bourgeoisie, the bourgeois intellectuals was completely laid bare. Consequently, in our country the war against the fascist invaders, the war for national liberation, was interlaced with the war against the collaborators of the invaders, against the principal exploiting classes and their political organizations of the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti». This had great revolutionary impact on the development of the National Liberation War of our people and in its political issues. This gave the National Liberation War the character of a profound people's revolution which brought about the defeat of the invaders and the extermination, of the traitorous organizations, the liberation of the homeland and the ousting from power of the principal exploiting classes.

The great merit of our Party and of the National Liberation Front was that they never sepa-

rated the war for the liberation of the country from the foreign invaders from the struggle for the seizure of power by the working masses. The historic importance of the Conference of Peza does not consist only in the fact that it was there that the National Liberation Front was created, but also that it was there that the foundations of the new people's power were laid. The national liberation councils, that were set up everywhere in our country, were born and grew as democratic and revolutionary organs of the people's power, under the sole guidance of the Communist Party. They meant the negation of all the anti-popular and exploiting state organs and organizations. The new people's power was extended and strengthened along with the growth and intensification of the armed struggle. The Congress of Përmet and the second session of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council of Berat, which were held in May and October 1944 respectively, were two great events of extraordinary historic importance, which fulfilled our people's will and carried on the decision to take all state power into their own hands, to create the new Albanian state, to build the new democratic people's Albania. Thus, on the eve of the liberation of the country, the prob-

lem of state power was already solved in favor of the people.

Our Party has always been vigilant and has mercilessly fought against all capitulation and treason in all aspects. It has consistently defended its political and organizational independence, its leading role in the Front and in the National Liberation War and did not allow the direction of the war to fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie, which was one of the primary objectives of the Anglo-American imperialists and the «Balli Kombëtar» and «Legaliteti» traitorous organizations. The Party knew that submission to the bourgeoisie, assumption of the direction of the war by the bourgeoisie would have brought about only the failure of the revolution and the maintenance of the old regime of oppression and exploitation. This was the aim pursued at the Mukje meeting, it is in this that Ymer Dishnica's capitulation before the bourgeoisie lies. That is why the Party and the National Liberation General Council have resolutely rejected the Mukje meeting as an act of treason to the interests of the people and revolution that would have opened the way to the direction of the war going over into the hands of the reactionary bourgeoisie, which far from consenting to

fight against the fascist invaders, had collaborated and was collaborating with them against the people and their struggle.

The creation of the Front and the slogan of uniting in this organization all those who were for the war against the invaders was one of the principal tactical problems the Party was confronted with for the achievement of the fundamental strategic objective of that moment, namely, the complete liberation of the country and the establishment of people's power. Subsequent events were to confirm the correctness of this line as well as its full approval by the people. They would likewise confirm the great and irreplaceable role the National Liberation Front played for uniting the people around the Party and under its leadership, for the mobilization of all the energies and all the creative capacities of the people at the service of the great cause of the revolution.

3. The Role of the Front in the Struggle to Build Socialism

Following the liberation of the country the Front continues to function under the leadership of the Party as a democratic organization of the

broad masses for the promotion of socialist revolution and the building of socialism. The line of the Party in connection with the Front has been and still is that of constantly strengthening its major role in uniting all the workers in the ranks of this organization, in educating them in the spirit of patriotism, of love for the country and in safeguarding the already achieved freedom and independence, in mobilizing the masses of the people to build socialism and communism, in educating them in the sense of proletarian internationalism.

Armed with a rich experience and keeping up its traditions of the National Liberation War, the Front has rendered and renders a major contribution to the attainment of all the achievements of our people in the struggle to build socialism and to defend the country. Our Party's directives, which embody the vital interests of the people, have been and are always directives of work and struggle also for the Democratic Front, which has found and developed various forms of work, organization and education in order to carry them out and turn them into realities. The Front has always and everywhere been a powerful lever, through which the Party has been closely bound to the masses,

it has taken its correct line to them, has educated and mobilized them for great and heroic achievements.

It is in the heat of revolution, in the major struggle to build socialism and defend the country, that the Front has been strengthened politically and organizationally, that it has carried to the masses the teachings of the Party on the class struggle, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, feudal and patriarchal survivals, backward customs and religious prejudices, against everything that impairs the unity of the people, the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry and people's intelligentsia, that lies in the way of the progress of our society towards socialism and communism. The Front is a great school of political education for the masses of the people.

The Front is the broadest mass organization in our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This system includes all the other organizations of the masses, like the Trade Unions, the Labor Youth Union and the Womens' Union. These organizations, the Democratic Front included, are the Party's levers to bind it with the masses, and have played and play a very important role in the life of the county. Bearing in mind the prob-

lems and particular requirements of workers, youth and women, they build their political, educative and organizational work so that the Party directives may be correctly understood and carried out by all these strata of the population. All the organizations of the masses carry on their activity in close connection with each other, but none of them can substitute the work of another. Each organization has its own specific task and role to play in building socialism. If the other organizations have to do with specific strata of people, the Democratic Front is the organization that realizes the political unity of the people as a whole. While militating for their particular organizations, the members of the other organizations are, at the same time, members of the Democratic Front and take active part in all debates and activities of the organizations of the Front.

Thus, the Front is the broadest mainstay of the Party and People's Power and its role at the present stage of building socialist society, far from becoming weaker and ending, becomes even more important.

The sole directing and leading force in our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat is our

Party of Labour. Without the Party and its leading role, the Front, just as the other organizations of the masses, cannot exist as a truly democratic and popular organization, which embodies and safeguards the interests of the masses. It is the Party that inspires them, that co-ordinates and directs all their activities to serve the great purpose, the triumph of socialism and communism.

Our Party has rejected and held in scorn the preachings of the modern revisionists, who deny the role of leadership to the Party in our system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the organizations of the masses, who preach the «independence» of the organizations of the masses from the Party, who oppose Stalin's Marxist-Leninist thesis according to which the organizations of the masses are levers, transmission-belts, that link the Party with the masses. The «independence» the revisionists are after is false. So long as the class struggle continues, no one in society, least of all an organization, can stand above classes, above the Party, off politics and independent of politics. The independence the revisionists are after is nothing else but independence from proletarian politics, from the communist party, in order to cross

over to full dependence on bourgeois politics and bourgeois parties.

* * *

The line our Party has pursued in the Front and our experience in this direction, despite the peculiarities which are connected with the concrete historical conditions of our country, has confirmed once again certain basic teachings of Marxism-Leninism which are essential to carry ahead successfully the cause of national liberation, of revolution and of socialism.

The experience of our country too has proven that only a Marxist-Leninist party, as a conscious and organized vanguard of the working class, which is consistently revolutionary, loyal to the last to the ideological principles of our doctrine, can lead the country and people to victory both in the national liberation and democratic revolution as well as in the proletarian revolution and in the struggle to build socialist and communist society. Both our experience as well as the experience of the world revolutionary and liberation movement go to prove that, at the stage of impe-

rialism the bourgeoisie and its political parties are unable, because of their very class nature, to carry through to the end the struggle against imperialism for genuine national liberation and the democratic and anti-feudal revolution. The preachings by Khrushchevite, Titoite and other modern revisionists denying the role of leadership to the proletarian party in the revolution and socialist construction and propagating the idea that it is possible to cross over to socialism also under the leadership of other bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties and even of trade unions which are in the service of capitalist monopolies, are a major betrayal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the working class and to its revolutionary cause.

In order that the cause of liberation and revolution may win, it is necessary for the Marxist-Leninist party to unite under its leadership all revolutionary forces in a broad popular front. In creating broad popular fronts, a Marxist-Leninist communist party should in no way rest its hopes and concentrate its efforts on the alliance and collaboration with chieftains of various political parties and organizations. Without neglecting this work, the Party should devote all its attention and exert all its efforts to setting up the unity of the people

from the grassroots, through extensive clarifying and persuasive work with the masses, especially through organizing concrete, well prepared and through out mass undertakings.

Experience has gone to show that the nucleus of the united front, that which lies at its very foundation, is the alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry. Without this alliance there is no popular front, there is no national-liberation front. These are the two principal driving forces of every genuine revolution of our days which comprise the overwhelming majority of the population of every country. Therefore, in order to be a genuine, broad political revolutionary and combative organization, the Front should be, above all, a union of the broad masses of people, reached through struggle and through struggle, and not a simple union of parties and, least of all, of chiefs, achieved on the basis of various political combinations.

Under conditions of a democratic-popular revolution and of a national-liberation war, when several bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties are in existence, the communist party may and must try to bring about a union with them into a broad democratic popular or national liberation front.

In these cases the front has its own specific nature which distinguishes it from our National Liberation Front where there were no other political parties save the Communist Party. It is clear that, when a communist party goes to war and revolution together with other progressive parties, it has to overcome many difficulties both in ensuring the victory of the liberation war and in promoting the revolution from the democratic anti-imperialist and anti-feudal stage to that of socialist revolution. It will not be able to pass through this process as easily as our Party did. The question is that when bourgeois and so-called socialist parties see that the interests of the classes they represent are at stake, they will resort to many political, organizational and military maneuvers, in order to slacken the liberation struggle, the revolution, in order to break up alliances and the joint front and, particularly, in order to undermine the leading role of the communist party in this front. This is connected with the class nature, position and inclinations of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, while pursuing the line of collaboration with various strata of the bourgeoisie or with their parties, the communist party should, at the same time, carry out also the line of fighting

against their oscillations and maneuvers, against their compromises with the forces of occupation and reaction. To pursue the line of unity alone and to neglect the line of fighting against splitting and reactionary activities in the front would mean to maintain an opportunist attitude of very grave consequences for the liberation struggle, for revolution.

Forces at work in the present world political arena include, in addition to the already discredited bourgeois and social-democratic parties, also the revisionist parties which have betrayed the interests of the working class and its revolutionary cause. Marxist-Leninist forces and parties are duty bound to wage a merciless war against these parties, in order to expose their treachery, their counter-revolutionary intentions, to smash them as political parties by weaning away the members from them and without entering into any compromise with them with regard to principles. Certain revisionist parties will speak in a demagogic way about an armed struggle, certain others, to save their face, will undertake a **pro forma** mass action. Marxist-Leninists should not be waylaid by these wily tactics, they should never confound the desire of the masses for struggle with the

sabotaging intention of the revisionist chiefs. Therefore, it is in the heat of battle and through revolutionary struggle that the only way of contact with the grass-root is to be found, and this in order to neutralize and liquidate the revisionists.

While pursuing the line of cooperation with other parties in the national liberation and democratic revolution, the Marxist-Leninist communist party should by all means maintain its complete ideological, political and organizational independence as a party of the working class; it should not stand in the shade or at the tail end of events, nor let itself be fused in any way in the Front, but it should strive always to acquire the leading role, strive for hegemony. At the same time, it is essential that it should never forget for a moment the prospects of developing the revolution and attaining the ultimate objective. The true Marxist-Leninist party and true revolutionaries should always be true to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, to the laws of proletarian revolution, even while at war with imperialism and its modern revisionist stooges. Let us never lose sight of these principles and these laws, let us never fall into the trap of adventures and half-way revolutionary forms or of vain slogans which

conform allegedly to the «specific» conditions of various countries. Specific conditions are bound to exist and they should always be taken into account, but these specific conditions should be correctly utilized only on the basis of the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and laws of proletarian revolution. Whatever departure from these principles and laws, under whatever form or pretext that they may be made, leads inevitably to the complete failure of the party and revolution.

The creation of the broad popular front should in no way serve as a basis to spread the opportunist and reformist illusions pretending that the existing order of things can be transformed peacefully and automatically through winning over the majority in the masses and in bourgeois parliaments, that the victory of revolution and transition to socialism can be effected. On the contrary, the front which is set up during the process of the revolutionary struggle should serve the cause of the political education and union of the people for an armed uprising to overthrow the imperialists, occupiers and the reactionary classes of the country by force, since history has proved that they never give up their position of their own free will. Revolution by violence is a general law not only of

the proletariat but of every genuine democratic and liberation revolution of our time. The preachings of Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists on the so-called peaceful way, which they have proclaimed as a world strategic principle, spell only defeat for the party of the working class, for revolution and socialism.

After the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and consolidated, which is achieved under the guidance of the communist party, the existence for a long time of other parties, inside or outside the front, even if they are «progressive» ones, has no meaning, no 'raison d'être' even formally on account of their alleged traditions. Every progressive tradition is blended with the revolutionary line of the communist party. The revolution overthrows a whole world, let alone a single tradition. As long as the class struggle goes on during the whole period of socialist construction of society and transition to communism, and since political parties uphold the interests of specific classes, it would be absurd and opportunist to have other non-Marxist-Leninist parties existing in the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, especially when the economic basis of socialism has been laid. This does not affect democracy at all

but, on the contrary, strengthens genuine proletarian democracy. The democratic nature of a system is in no way gauged by the number of parties, but is determined by its economic basis, by the class in power, by all the policy and activity of the State and by the fact whether it conforms to the interests of the broad masses of the people, whether it serves them or not.

With a view to achieving their counter-revolutionary aims in the service of the bourgeoisie and imperialism, the modern revisionists are ever more zealously proceeding along the way of degrading the communist parties and socialist regimes. They are liquidating the parties of the working class denying their proletarian class nature and proclaiming them as «parties of the people as a whole». In fact they have turned them into bourgeois parties of a new type. The degeneration of the communist parties and socialist order in certain countries, where revisionist cliques hold sway, is bringing about the revival of the system of two or more bourgeois parties under the guise of socialism and on behalf of the alleged development of socialist democracy. The fronts that exist in some of these countries have remained so on paper, they are lifeless and signs are already apparent of the

revival and political and organizational activation of parties taking part in these fronts striving to win commanding posts in the socialist state which is continually assuming the features of a bourgeois state. The extreme groupings of modern revisionists, particularly in capitalist countries like France and Italy, are striving to persuade their revisionist colleagues in socialist countries to speedily proceed along this road in order to give a further proof to the western bourgeoisie that they are prepared to put an end to «Stalinist socialism» and to re-establish a new bourgeois socialism of the social-democratic type and to make the work of revisionists in capitalist countries easier to unite and merge with the bourgeoisie and their parties, in order to join it in setting up such a «socialist» order in these countries.

The 25-year long experience of the Democratic Front goes to show that our Party has always pursued a correct line, it has successfully upheld and carried out the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the laws of proletarian revolution and socialist construction. This has ensured for our Party and people all the major achievements which we enjoy today. Experience up to now goes also to show that the Front, as the 5th Congress of the

Party put it remains to this day, the main link of the political unity of the people around the Party and People's Government for the building of socialism and defence of the country, a grand rostrum for the enlightening and education of the workers in the spirit of the line of the Party, a powerful means for the active participation of the broad masses of the people towards solving the major problems of society and the state.

II

THE ACTUAL TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT TO PUT INTO PRACTICE THE IDEAS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE 5th PARTY CONGRESS

The 5th Party Congress worked out a magnificent program of work and combat for all the communists and workers of our country. The substantiation of this program will mark a further important step towards the complete construction of socialist society.

As an organization of the unity of the people, which aims at helping the Party carry out successfully the fulfilment of its program, the Democratic Front faces important political, educational, economic and organizational tasks.

1) Strengthening the Political Unity of the People has been and Remains the Fundamental Task of the Democratic Front

One of the main springs of force and invincibility of our people during these last twenty five years has always been their political unity around the Party of Labor of Albania in the Democratic Front.

The economic and social basis of this union is today the social ownership over the means of production, socialist relations in production which have been established both in cities and in the countryside; its political basis is the general line of the Party in building socialism and defending the country, and its ideological basis is Marxism-Leninism which guides and inspires all the life of our country. The combative alliance of the working class with the laboring peasantry stands, as always, at the very roots of this union.

The unity of the people in the Democratic Front constitutes an insurmountable wall, against which all internal and external enemies of our socialist country have smashed their heads. It has successfully coped with all threats, blackmail and

repeated conspiracies of various imperialists, fascist monarchists, and other enemies of our country. The vitality of this monolithic unity was manifested in a brilliant way once again these recent years when the modern revisionists, too, led by the Khrushchevite clique of the Soviet Union, launched their attack against our Party and people, bringing into action all their resources and fury. Our people, linked like flesh to bone with their Party, weathered all threats, blackmail, smashed all plots and blockades by the revisionists, came off triumphant and set a brilliant example on how to cope with revisionist betrayal.

This steel-like unity is expressed in an ever convincing manner by the approval of, and unre-served support for the policy of the Party found among our working people as a whole in their full mobilization to carry it out. We see this unity in the brilliant results of the elections to the organs of the people's government of all levels, in which the people vote unanimously for the line of the Party, for the program of the Democratic Front, we see it in the active participation of the broad masses of the workers of the city and the countryside in drawing up and discussing the plans of economic and cultural development, in the rea-

diness of the people to be all out to fulfil and over-fulfil them. We see it in the great mass movements of workers to revolutionize the whole life of the country, to uproot alien customs, traditions and influences, religious superstitions and the enslaving attitude maintained towards women. It was strongly manifested in the exemplary and patriotic willingness with which the peasantry embraced all revolutionary initiatives to wind up within a brief period the collectivization of agriculture in mountain regions and to reduce the size of their personal plots of ground for the benefit of agricultural cooperatives. It is manifested in the highly patriotic drive of all our people to pass through military training and to strengthen the defense of the country. This unity is ceaselessly manifested in all the domains of our social life, in every step of our struggle to carry ahead the revolution and socialist construction.

While assessing the political unity of our people as a major historic victory and as a colossal force on which rests our invincibility and guarantee for all our successes, the further incessant strengthening of this unity in the future constitutes the fundamental task, obligation number one of the Democratic Front.

The organizations of the Democratic Front should never consider the problem of the political unity of the people as something already solved and done with. Forging and strengthening this unity is a continuous process closely connected with the correct solution of social contradictions, particularly, contradictions within the ranks of the people, with the development of the class struggle against every and all alien things which lie in the way of our triumphant march forward. It is unconceivable to think of surmounting contradictions and strengthening unity without the class struggle and out of it. To consider the question of unity outside the class struggle, to deny the class struggle and the non-antagonistic contradictions of socialist society allegedly for the sake of this unity means to lull to sleep the political and ideological vigilance of the party and workers, to undermine the unity and the cause of socialism itself. Therefore, the Front organizations should keep well in mind the teachings of the Party on the class struggle and contradictions of our society, should apply them correctly through the active participation of the masses themselves. In their day to day struggle they should draw a clear-cut line between our contradictions with the

enemy and contradictions within the ranks of the people, they should not confound the people with the enemy, because a thing of this kind would gravely impair the cause of unity and would weaken the bonds of the Party with the masses.

At every stage of revolution and our socialist construction, our Party has united the people in struggle to carry out a definite program, to discharge the duties and solve the concrete problems of the time. Further consolidation and tempering of this unity should be achieved through organized elucidating and persuasive work with the masses in order to explain to them the political and ideological substance of the line and directives of the 5th Party Congress, mobilizing them for the successful accomplishment of the tasks it set forth in all domains. The better acquainted the masses are with the ideological and political substance of the line and tasks of the Party, the higher their political awareness and their revolutionary patriotic spirit, the sooner and the better will our tasks be accomplished, the more adamant will be the unity of the people in the Democratic Front.

During the 4th five-year period socialist Albania will take one further historic step in its revolutionary development. Our heroic working class

will embellish the country with new industrial works. Mining, machine-making, electrical, building, food-processing and light industries will mark considerable progress. The 4th five-year period marks an important turn in the development of heavy industry, with the setting up new branches like those of producing means of production, metallurgical and chemical industries. The more powerful our socialist industry is, the better basis it becomes for the rapid progress of our economy, the more inflexible and inviolable becomes the economic independence of the country, the defensive power of our free and sovereign State.

Our collectivized agriculture will undergo a radical change. For the first time in the history of our country, our patriotic peasantry, enjoying the powerful aid of our socialist state and putting into effect the directives of the Party, have taken upon themselves the vital national task of securing the bread of the people in the country. The prospects in this direction are brilliant. Intensification of agriculture, application of agricultural technique, summing up and practicing on a large scale the very valuable progressive experience of our cooperativists, enthusiastic adoption and zealous application of the directives of the Party to turn the

mountains and hillsides into fertile fields, all of these and other measures which the 4th five-year plan envisages, will certainly advance our agriculture at a speedy rate.

The growth of industry and agriculture will be accompanied by a higher and broader development of education, arts and culture, by a further improvement of the welfare of the people whose material needs will be fulfilled even better. Social and cultural conditions of living will be improved particularly in the countryside.

The organizations of the Democratic Front should see to it that every member of the Front is well acquainted with the tasks which the Party sets forth for the development of the economy; they should urge the initiative of the masses and mobilize their energies to fulfil and over-fulfil the targets of the 4th five-year plan. Attainment of this objective makes it imperative for the organizations of the Democratic Front to raise their political and educational work to a higher level, to find and use new and more fruitful forms of their all-round work with the masses, to carry on patient work with the people, differentiating it to suit their categories, cultural level, region, etc. in

which in the Front has very good traditions set up as early as during the National Liberation War.

Today the Democratic Front faces special tasks to carry on a major and uninterrupted activity for the ideological uplift of workers, for the wide dissemination of Marxist-Leninist ideology among the masses, for cleansing the conscience of people of everything alien, retrogressive and reactionary, for their education in the norms of communist ethics, for the implementation of the call of the Party to think, work and live like revolutionaries.

We must never for a moment forget that at present it is in the ideological front that the class enemy concentrate their fierces blows for the purpose of sowing confusion in the minds of people, of hindering the discharge of tasks which the Party sets forth, of disrupting and undermining the unity of the people around the Party and of paving thus, the way for counter-revolution, for imperialist intervention, for the re-establishment of capitalism.

The struggle for the inculcation and the ultimate triumph of proletarian ideology in the consciousness of all workers constitutes today the basic link and another main course of the work of the Democratic Front to further strengthen the unity of the people. The experience gained in this

direction, particularly the forms used recently in connection with the study and application of the directives of the Party with regard to the further revolutionizing of the life of the country, should be carried further ahead with courage, having the ideological unity of the people as the target.

The country's defense has been and will continue to be a cardinal question for the Democratic Front. In order that Albania may always remain free, sovereign, Albania of the people and for the people, it is up to every patriot, every member of the Democratic Front to militate as a revolutionary in defense of the country, to live every hour and every minute with the preoccupation of strengthening the defense of the country, to be always prepared militarily and physically fit for defensive action. At these most glorious and heroic moments which our Republic is passing through here on the Adriatic coast, every Albanian should stand alert at his militant post of duty, in the factory or in the field, at school or at the frontier, firmly holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other.

The organizations of the Democratic Front should conduct in a systematic way intensive educational work of an ideological and political natu-

re in order to deeper inculcate the sense of love and loyalty towards the homeland, to keep always alive and promote further the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of our forefathers ranging from the legendary epoch of our National Hero George Kastriot Scanderbeg, the grander, more gigantic epoch of the epic of the National Liberation War, to the equally glorious days of the socialist construction of the country. Let us turn every organization of the Front, in the village or city quarter, into a real center of patriotic education of the masses for the prosperity and defense of the country, to intensify the hatred against the class enemy, against imperialism and Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionism. Let us turn our patriotic and revolutionary traditions into an inexhaustible mainspring of inspiration, particularly, for the younger generation, for new heroic deeds in the service of the country and people, of revolution and socialism.

2. The Role of the Democratic Front in further Strengthening the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Extending Socialist Democracy

The experience of our free and independent country has shown that without the dictatorship of the proletariat it is impossible to achieve the victory of revolution, to curb and smash the resistance and activity of external and internal enemies, to guarantee the defense of our socialist country, to carry ahead the building of socialist and communist society.

The Democratic Front, just as all the other organizations of masses, has played a major role and has done all-round work to continually strengthen the people's power. It has educated the laboring masses of the town and of the countryside in the spirit of devotion and loyalty to the government, it has mobilized them to put into effect its decisions and laws, it has drawn them more and more to state and social work.

The Party has stressed more than once that the consolidation and further democratization of people's power cannot be attained without fighting against bureaucracy and has waged a continuous

war against it. In particular, it has launched in recent years a broad front attack against bureaucratic manifestations and distortions in the state apparatus and organs, of economy and of the Party. Results of this battle are quite fair. Colossal work has been done and a number of revolutionary measures familiar to all have been taken within a relatively short period of time. The important thing is that these measures of the Party and Government found also strong support on the part of the workers of our country and are being carried out through their direct and active participation. This has given to the campaign against bureaucracy the nature of a broad popular movement of deep ideological content. The essence of this campaign is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat to carry our socialist revolution through to the end, to block the way for revisionist manifestations and for any opportunity of capitalism being restored in our country.

But, if we have dealt a hard blow at bureaucracy, we have not yet liquidated and vanguardized it totally. Therefore, there is no room here to be satisfied with the results attained. A great deal lies ahead for us to be done in further promoting

the revolutionary movement of fighting against bureaucracy.

First of all, the Democratic Front should continue to carry on wide and all-round elucidating work with the masses of the people so that they may be awake to the real danger which bureaucracy represents now and in the days to come for our people's power, for our socialist order and the achievements of revolution, to make them conscious fighters against it. Let it be well understood by all that the struggle against bureaucracy is a long and all-sided one, that it is, first and foremost, an ideological battle to uproot bureaucratic concepts of management in order to inculcate and temper revolutionary concepts which must fully correspond with the deeply popular character of our regime. It is only in this way that we can successfully fight the narrow concept which reduces the fight against bureaucracy to cutting correspondence and personnel and that we can do away with the practice of conducting this fight in the form of a campaign.

Supervision exercised by the broad masses of workers and peasants, by our people as a whole on the activity of the organs and employees of the state, is one of the important conditions to streng-

then the further democratization of the people's administration and to fight bureaucratism with success.

The Democratic Front is called upon to organize and sponsor the supervision of the masses on the state organs and persons working in them, on one hand, and, on the other, to conduct wide ideological, political and educational work so that state functionaries, employees, representatives of the people in state organs of all levels always feel they are servants of the people.

But what does to be servants of the people mean? Above all it means to serve the people loyally according to the militant line of our Party, to be a hard, tireless worker in carrying out decisions and laws in power, never to abuse for a moment the trust laid on you by the people for personal benefits and privileges but to always be correct and frank, irreconcilable with any manifestation of favoritism, partiality and nepotism. This means, at the same time, to be polite and considerate towards people, not only during work time service but also beyond it, to maintain close connections with the masses and to listen carefully to what they say, to maintain a principled stand towards observations and criticism of the people,

to be irreconcilable with manifestations of arrogance, of haughtiness and false pride. Finally, it means to always place the common interests of the people, the interests of our socialist society above everything, to subject your personal interests to them, to be prepared to make every sacrifice for the good of the people.

Every government employee of whatever rank should carefully view his activity and fight in himself every thing at variance with his function as a servant of the people. The people too should view the activity of those connected with government work. The idea that «there are special people to supervise the activity of government employees» should be discarded as a erroneous idea which hampers the initiative of the masses and that of the organizations of the Democratic Front to organize and encourage worker supervision. No other control can substitute for the control of the people united in their organization of the Democratic Front. Therefore, this supervision and control should be exercised regularly, forcefully and in the right way so as to help improve the incessant enforcement of work by the people and organs of authority.

How have the organizations of the Democra-

tic Front conducted themselves so far in this respect? In comparing with the past, there are some improvements but they are still insufficient. While they take active part and play a primary role during the election campaigns, the organizations of the Front show little concern about the way these representatives of the people fill their functions after they have been elected, how they discharge their tasks and justify the trust the people have laid on them. They contribute too little to place these people under the supervision of the masses by organizing meetings of the Front where they should render account periodically before the masses, to educate the masses to hold the persons they have elected to account, to use with courage, when necessary, the right of revoking those representatives who do not justify in practice the trust the masses have laid on them. The organizations of the Front should be more active and combative as rostrums whence the powerful voice of criticism by the masses should be heard about every shortcoming and weakness in the work of state organs and of persons employed in them. They should show more courage and severity towards every one who looks down upon and smothers their voice.

State problems are the concern of the working people as a whole. They are taken and solved not by certain councillors and elected representatives, least of all by appointed functionaries but by the people in power. This is to be well understood. Therefore, the wider the participation of the laboring masses in state affairs, the better and more correctly will the problems be studied and solved. In this regard a major role belongs to the organization of the Democratic Front to increase the participation of the masses in the study and solution of major problems of state, to make the masses fully aware of the duty to take active part in running the affairs of the country. Without this we cannot speak of enforcing further democratization of the people's power, of fighting bureaucracy. «Bureaucratism», Lenin says, «can be fought to the end, to final victory only when the people as a whole will take part in running the country» (V. I. Lenin, Works, Albanian edition, vol. 29, p. 196).

We should make use of and spread the experience of many organizations of the Front in Tirana, Durrës, Vlora, Shkodër, Tropojë, Mirditë, Korçë and elsewhere which solicit the opinion of the masses regularly on the various problems of

the administration both as regards matters pertaining to municipal service, to handicrafts, public health and sanitation, education and culture and even to problems of the defense of the country and mobilize them to solve them.

Participation of the masses in running the country implies at the same time their wide participation in drawing up the decrees and laws that guide all the activity of the state organs and govern the life of our socialist society as well as their mobilization to carry them out in practice. The Democratic Front should exert all efforts to make known the laws of the state, not merely their technical side but mainly the political and ideological substance of each law, to educate the people in the spirit of respecting the state laws and being irreconcilable with any bureaucratic manifestation and distortion in carrying them out.

Our Party has consistently striven to develop and enforce the broad democracy of the masses of the people and we have scored important successes in this direction. Not only elections but also the activity of the organs of the state and of economy, of education and culture, the whole life of our country is run on the base of socialist democracy.

The battle against bureaucratism which is being waged with success in our country is cleaning up and paving the way for a major development of proletarian democracy, it is consolidating its revolutionary and popular spirit, it is raising it to a higher level. Within the framework of this battle, the Democratic Front should exert all its efforts so that the people may have fearlessly their say in everything, for they are the masters of the country and of political power, for their will is law for all and cannot be violated by any one. At their meetings the organizations of the Democratic Front should encourage broad and free discussions on every problem that interests and preoccupies the people. They should encourage in a special way open and unreserved criticism by the masses against shortcomings and mistakes. Criticism by the masses at meetings or through flash-posters should mercilessly cudgel the bureaucrats, those who stand aloof and every one who tramples upon the directives of the Party and the laws of the state.

By intensifying the supervision of the masses on the activity of the state organs and their apparatuses from below, by increasing the participation of the people in running the country and by

continually developing socialist democracy, we shall dry up every source that revives bureaucracy, we shall block the way to any manifestation of emergence of revisionism and every opportunity to restore capitalism in our country, we shall consolidate and further democratise our people's power, the most powerful weapon in our hands, to complete the building of socialist society and to defend our homeland.

3. — Increase the Activity of the Democratic Front to Solve Social Problems

The Democratic Front has played and plays a significant role in solving social problems. This role has been continually enhanced and has assumed fresh impetus, especially during recent times. The organizations of the Front under the guidance of Party organizations, and in collaboration with those of Youth, of Women and of Trade Unions, have organized broad popular meetings and conventions in all the districts of the country in which our workers, inspired by the line and decisions of the Party, have conducted lively discussions on major social problems. They have con-

demned backward customs, feudal and patriarchal practices which oppress and enslave women, religious superstitions and prejudices, everything alien, conservative and reactionary which hinders the establishment of correct relations in the family and society and lies in the way of the progress of our country.

The numerous movements, pledges and initiatives taken to this effect are of extraordinary importance, for social problems are great and complicated both in cities and, more so, in the countryside. They have their written and especially unwritten laws that often find their expression in various backward and obnoxious customs, in norms alien to our communist ethics. They are the more dangerous and deep-rooted, as they offer stubborn resistance to the new ideas and are removed only with greatest difficulty. These customs and norms have their economic, political, ideological, religious and ethical foundations; their roots date far back to capitalism and feudalism sometimes even to primitive society divided into tribes and clans. The establishment of new social relations relying upon the norms of our communist ethics cannot be achieved without fighting all obsolete, backward and reactionary customs. This

struggle cannot be successfully waged without a deep knowledge of their roots and origins, without detecting and exposing their class contents, without clearly demonstrating their harm and evil. Here lies a wide scope of activity for the Democratic Front Organization.

Let us take up, for instance, the problem of emancipating women. This is a major problem for every country, regardless of its level of development. But this problem takes special importance for our country, due to its great backwardness inherited from the past, backwardness that women felt more than men because women, in fact, were subjected to manifold forms of oppression and enslavement by the exploiting classes and foreigners and by backward laws, canons of the church and the sharia. No doubt, we have achieved colossal victories in this field. A genuinely great revolution has taken place in the life of the Albanian woman. She came out of the darkness into light, from household servitude into the great economic, political and social life of our country, from deep inequality into a true equality that our people's power guarantees by law. From a despised and debased creature, she became a great force that enjoys the esteem and respect of our socialist so-

ciety. Now our Party is putting great stress on and has placed on the order of the day the question of the complete liberation of women, their all-out participation in production and social and political life, to make the Albanian woman conscious of her rights and able to play her role in the complete construction of socialist society.

There is no need to deal here at length about the problems of the complete emancipation of women. We have a great program of work and struggle that has been drawn up by our Party for this purpose. The party documents on this question are a powerful weapon in our hands for a deeper understanding and a further development of the struggle aiming at the complete emancipation of women. Now, the question is how we should concretely organize our work and which are the tasks that the Organization of the Democratic Front is confronted with in the struggle for the emancipation of women.

The Democratic Front has its great merits in the struggle for the emancipation of women. Thousands of Albanian girls and women militated in its ranks during the National Liberation war. Inspired by a lofty patriotic and revolutionary feeling, they did not spare even their lives for a free

Albania, for the liberation of its people, as a first and indispensable condition for the liberation of the women themselves. Besides this after liberation, the Democratic Front has given a valuable contribution to the complete emancipation of women. Its role has been especially enhanced during these recent times. The call of the Party that all our country and people rise to their feet to defend the rights of our women and girls has found the active response of the Democratic Front, which has done and is doing wide and fruitful work in this respect.

The organizations of the Front have made the problem of women a problem of society as whole. On the initiative of the Democratic Front and in close collaboration with other organizations, in some districts, such as those of Puka, Gramsh, Lezha, Mat, etc. hundreds of betrothals between young people that had not yet reached marriageable age or betrothals between persons of a great age difference have been dissolved. In the Tepelena, Librazhd and other districts, the Democratic Front organizations have embarked on various actions and have taken numerous measures to make house chores lighter for women, to do away with the lash rope, to change their unsuitable and heavy gar-

ments, etc. At present, the organizations of the Front are devoting greater attention to a broader participation of women in various political, social and cultural activities. About 11,000 women and girls have been elected to all levels of the local government, whereas more than 10,000 women and girls work in various leading organs of the Front.

All these facts show that a positive turning point has been reached in the work of the Democratic Front for the complete emancipation of women. But we must be conscious of the fact that it is only the beginning of a greater struggle that is still to be waged in order to achieve this objective. We must not forget, be it only for a moment, what the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party stressed, i.e., that in the present conditions of our country, when we have liquidated private ownership and the exploiting classes, when we have established everywhere socialist relations in production, when women have gained by force of law equality of rights with men, and all doors leading to education and culture are flung wide open to them, in order that they may actively participate in the whole life of our country — the greatest hindrance to the complete emancipation of women are the backward bourgeois and feudal, patri-

archal and religious concepts, norms and customs. These concepts are especially to be found more deeply rooted among men, that is why the problem of emancipating women is not the concern only of the Women's Organization. It is here that the decisive role of the Democratic Front organization reveals itself, as an organization that comprises in its ranks the whole people. First and foremost, it is up to the Front organizations, under the direction of the Party, to take seriously in their hands the problem of the complete emancipation of women, as one of the most vital problems of our society and to combat relentlessly alien concepts, norms and customs which still degrade and enslave the women and impede them from fully occupying the place that appertains to them in our socialist society.

It should be made clear that it is not a matter of one campaign, that can be solved at one or several meetings of the Front, but it is a long, daily, intricate and delicate struggle which has to do with the transformation of the people's innermost world.

Along with the ideological and political work, we should be constantly careful for the adoption of concrete economic, organizational and administrative measures to free women from house drud-

gery and create material conditions for their all-out participation in social production and in the entire political and social life of the country.

Another field not less important to the Democratic Front is the great work it should do for a more cultivated life especially in the countryside, to solve problems of hygiene, public services, spreading education and culture, improving the way of life. On all these problems, the Front has in its hands a vast program drawn up by the June 1963 plenary session of the Central Committee of the Party. According to the tasks set by this plenum, the Front has done fruitful work in all the districts up to now. Nevertheless, we note that the tasks set by this plenum have not been carried out as they should have been. At first, various organizations of the Front, have taken good, correct decisions, set concrete tasks, but unfortunately a great number of these tasks have remained a dead letter. Better work on these problems has been accomplished in the lowland regions where the results have been greater too. Less work has been done in the remote mountain zones where, likewise, the changes brought about have been small and altogether insufficient. These weaknesses, are due, to a large extent, to the bureaucratic

and administrative style and method of work, to the fact that the political aspects of various questions have not been properly understood, that they have not become mass actions, the initiatives of the latter have not been adequately supported and developed.

It is now necessary that a radical turn should be undertaken in these problems, that they should be correctly sized up as great social problems concerning the life of the people, that the work should be organized better and the masses themselves should be called upon to resolve them, that state and economic organs should be held responsible, that each of them should properly attend to its duty.

Particular care should be devoted especially to the mountain zones which, on account of numerous historic, social and natural, reasons, have remained more backward than the lowland regions. Now, it is high time and the conditions are ripe for us to devote more attention to the mountain regions and make up for lost time without neglecting our work to keep the economic, social and cultural situation strong in the lowlands.

It is indispensable that in all domains state

aid assigned to the highlands should rank first in priority, so that within the possible limits, the needs of the mountain regions in the South and, particularly in the North, should be provided for in the first place. We should better satisfy the great desire of the highlanders for education, instruction and culture, for books and periodicals. We should send there the best, the most heroic and the most advanced cadres of our Party and state, the most efficient physicians, midwives, nurses, the best agronomists, veterinarians, technicians, the most capable teachers and professors. Prompt and effective steps should be taken for the development of trade and handicrafts in these zones, irrespective of the fact whether there are roads or not, whether there is snow or not. Greater work should be done to link up mountain villages by highways, to extend electrification, hygiene, and all sorts of public services.

We should have a clear political understanding of the political, economic, social, cultural and organizational problems of the mountain zones and make them the object of a continuous broad mass action for all the Party, for the state, for the grass-root and central mass organizations and, above all, for the Democratic Front. A high,

revolutionary spirit should prevail everywhere, all obstacles and difficulties should be courageously surmounted, all backward concepts that «mountains cannot be changed into plains» should be smashed, all excuses that «we cannot do everything at once» should be discarded. We must work with unswerving confidence to bring about a decisive turn towards the all-round development of our highlands, because marvellous people, ardent patriots, loyal to the Party, to its correct line, intelligent men and women who are thirsty for progress, who have burst forth as a volcano and achieve wonders in applying the Party line, live, work and strive there.

It is the great task of the Democratic Front to carry out extensive work of persuasion with the masses of peasants in the highlands, to arouse them, to strengthen in them the conviction and the confidence that, with the directives of the Party at heart, if they are capable of moving mountains, of reaching the skies, why should they not be able to sweep away the backwardness and implant the new, the socialist way of life. We are aware of the difficulties we encounter and shall still encounter on the way of the development and progress of our highlands, but we have a full

right to be optimistic. What is happening with our highland girls in the railway construction site, in this great revolutionary school of our heroic youth? They go to railway construction sites with a timid air, shy, locked up in themselves with a burden of customs and concepts sticking like thorns into their flesh, while after two months — I stress: after only two months — they undergo a colossal change, they make a qualitative leap forward, they leave the railway construction sites with ardent hearts, full of pure sentiments and exalted revolutionary spirit, which they carry, as combatants of the new, to the remotest and farthest corners of our homeland.

To solve the problems of the countryside, especially those of a social and cultural character, the Democratic Front should better activate the entire intelligentsia of the countryside and, particularly, the teachers, who constitute a huge army, a colossal force, in order to diffuse everything new and progressive all over the countryside. We are all acquainted with the revolutionary initiative of the Mirdita and Kolonja teachers and the results they have already attained. This initiative now has been blazed over all the districts of the country. It is up to us to intensify these initiati-

ves, and have not only all the teachers, but also the intellectuals of the countryside and the cities take them. We emphasize this because among the teachers there are still some who, though established in the countryside think too much of the city, who shut themselves within the walls of the school and do not bother about what goes on outside those walls, who teach the schoolchildren only the a b c and show little or no interest in anything else, who get accustomed to backward habits and to uncleanness, who, far from being in the vanguard, lag often behind, who keep their mouths shut about everything alien they see, believing that they have acquitted themselves of their duty simply by teaching the school children the history of Rome.

The Party and our people nourish the greatest respect for the teachers and their noble work, independently of the criticism we make of those few who neglect their sacred duty as educators of the youth and the people. It is essential that the teachers should never forget their noble mission, especially in the countryside, but should accomplish never by withdrawing, because he who withdraws is a deserter; by overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, because he who gives in is

a capitulant, by even laying down their lives, if need be, as Ndreç Ndue Gjoka, the hero teacher of Mirdita, did.

Social and cultural problems are great and numerous. Like all other problems they can be solved with success when they become the concern of the masses, when more initiative and revolutionary spirit are brought forward. The grass-root organizations have great possibilities to achieve very much by their own effort. Many positive examples can be found in this domain. In a number of districts and agricultural cooperatives sound initiatives have been taken for opening more collective bakeries, for building public baths and laundries, for fixing drinking water supply instalations, for opening diverse workshops, extending handicrafts in villages, extending the power network, opening new motor roads etc. etc. These initiatives should be brought to everybody's knowledge and be spread everywhere, because through educational, organizational and mobilizing work, a lot of useful things can be done. It is precisely in this domain that a role of primary importance is incumbent upon the Democratic Front.

A great social and ideological problem is the

struggle for the eradication of religious prejudices and backward customs, which are closely interlocked. In our country, religion has not succeeded to develop in the form of a subtle philosophic world outlook, nevertheless it is closely interlaced with customs, traditions and the way of living, it has poured its poison into days of weal and days of woe, in all daily manifestations of a man's life, from his birth until his death. Religion has tried to clothe everything, every event in a man's life, in its mystic and reactionary cloak. These religious practices have been introduced not only into the life of the faithful, but even into the life of atheists who sometimes put them into practice unconsciously. That is why, without fighting all these religious practices and all the dogmas on which they are founded, old and backward customs and traditions cannot be extirpated and new norms and new socialist relations cannot be fully established in our society.

In this sense, lately, particularly after the 5th Congress of the Party, a vast movement has burst forth, which is developing on a broad front in town and the countryside, involving the people of all walks of life, and which is characterized by direct and striking actions not only against reaction-

nary and anti-scientific religious conceptions but also against religious festivities, ceremonies and rites as well as against the material basis of religion itself. The most significant feature of this movement is that it has started on the initiative of the masses themselves and is evolving and intensifying with the active participation of the masses, which, in the process of their life and struggle, are being persuaded more and more of the vanity and harm of religious beliefs.

The fight against religion and backward customs in which our organization of the Democratic Front plays an eminent role, is one important trend of the ideological and cultural revolution. In this field a great, unprecedented leap forward has been effected in our country. It is not a sporadic thing that came by itself. It is the result of great social economic transformations which have been carried out in our country's life, of the correct line of the Party to separate church from state and school from religion, the result of the work of many years that has been accomplished by the Party, state, Democratic Front and all the social organizations to spread education and culture and to educate the masses in the spirit of atheism. In all its attitude towards religion, the Party has

stuck to the Marxist-Leninist principle that religious world outlook and communist world outlook are opposed to each other, are irreconcilable and at variance with each other, because they express and uphold the interests of different antagonistic classes. It has always subordinated the fight against religious ideology to the struggle to free the workers from social oppression and economic exploitation. In order to attain this objective, it has not allowed the employment of administrative measures, but has set the method of persuading and educating the masses at the base of atheistic work.

The successes that have been achieved in the struggle against the influence of religion and its bases are bound up also with the fact that our people have never been and are not so fanatical and attached to religion, for it has always opposed their aspirations and liberation struggle. All the religious sects that exist in our country have been brought into Albania by foreign invaders and have served them and the ruling and exploiting classes of the country. Under the garb of religion, of God and his prophets, there lay hidden the brutal law of external invaders and their internal lackeys. The history of our people demonstrates clearly how

much suffering, distress, blood-shed and oppression have been inflicted upon our people by religion, how it fomented discord, incited fratricide, aiming at oppressing us more cruelly, enslaving us more easily and sucking our blood in its name. That is why nothing good has attached and attaches us to religion, to its practices, not only as atheists, but as Albanian patriots as well. Attached to the struggle of our people for liberation there have been also patriotic clergymen who, without openly denying their faith, have been closely linked with the people and devoted to the idea of national liberation. However, religion as a faith, as an ideology, has never been a progressive factor with us, it has not given the least aid to the cause of the people and their national liberation.

Consequently, it was sufficient for a single spark struck by the revolutionary students of the Durrës «Naim Frashëri» school, who were inspired by the teachings of the Party, to kindle an immense fire that swept away from the face of the earth all hotbeds of religious obscurantism.

In spite of the great successes attained in the struggle against obsolete customs, traditions and old norms, against superstitions and religious conceptions, we should by no means be satisfied and

rest our minds in peace. These survivals still have deep roots, and exert their influence on a section of our population, especially on the aged. It is necessary to combat the erroneous concept that religion is only the church, the mosque, the priest, the hodja, the icons, etc., and that, once these disappear religion and its influence over the people would automatically disappear, too. We must be realistic; our struggle against old customs, traditions, norms, against religious conceptions, age-long rooted in the life and conscience of the people, has not ended. This is a long, complicated and difficult struggle. Therefore, our educational and convincing work, our atheist propaganda should firmly continue to consolidate the victories already achieved, in order to put into effect the pledges that have been taken in people's meetings and conventions to fight relentlessly against whatever is alien and harmful to our cause, to implant among the people our new, revolutionary Marxist-Leninist world outlook, the new socialist expression, customs and norms.

In spite of all the work done, we should bear in mind the recommendation of our Party that we have to do with the people's feelings, with our men and women who, although closely linked with the

Party and ardent patriots, will still keep their old customs, concepts and religious beliefs in their conscience for a long time to come, may be even till they die. The work with them should be long, persuasive and patient. The work of the Party and the Front with these people should be like that of a good doctor who tries his best to cure the sick, to bring him back to the joys of life. That is why no arbitrary, hasty and unconsidered action should be allowed. For each step undertaken, the political and ideological ground should be previously well prepared.

On the other hand, the Party and the Democratic Front should seriously think and work, encouraging and supporting actively each and every initiative, everything new, aiming at establishing our new, people's norms, customs and festivities, suitable to the new life we are building. The elimination and the limitation of various old festivities, ceremonies and customs require that they be necessarily replaced by new ones. By disowning the old, we should necessarily affirm the new, otherwise the old resuscitates and renews itself. We should not allow any gaps to be created in the life of the people. This is of great importance. The diverse customs, usages, ceremonies and festivi-

ties are an inseparable part of the people's life, which we should make always richer, merrier, more prosperous and more varied.

Thus, the struggle to extirpate everything alien, conservative and bourgeois, reactionary, feudal and patriarchal, inherited from the old exploiting society, the struggle for the new and progressive, for what is revolutionary and actual, for supporting, spreading and implanting it in the minds and psychology of people, in customs, norms and rules of our social life, constitutes one of the fundamental and permanent tasks of the Democratic Front. This is the struggle driving the ideological and cultural revolution towards the complete construction of socialist society, towards consolidating our socialist system and the victories already achieved.

4. Let us Further Vitalize the Organization of the Democratic Front, Raise its Combative Spirit of Self-activity

The great tasks that we lay before this Congress cannot be carried out successfully without the organizational strengthening of the Democra-

tic Front, without further invigorating its life, without raising the combative and self-acting spirit on the part of all the organs and organizations of the Front, without continually improving its method and style of work.

The Party has raised with great force, especially in these last years, the question of deepening the mass line, which has always been the fixed and firm line of our Party, during the liberation war, as well as in socialist construction. It is in the Democratic Front and in other social organizations that the application of the mass line finds its embodiment. That is why the application and the deepening of this line cannot be conceived without strengthening and further invigorating all the organizations, in particular, the organization of the Front, as the most massive organization, without raising its role and developing its all-round activity.

If the Front is to play its great political role as it ought to, it should be a living combative and revolutionary organization. This depends largely on the problems that are laid before the organizations of the Front and the way they are sized up and solved. Often the Front meetings are tedious and formal, even perfunctory. This happens be-

cause these meetings are not well prepared, the problems that preoccupy the people are not properly set forth in them, or else they are sized up in a very superficial manner, in general phrases, without criticism and selfcriticism, without taking concrete decisions and measures. This is due to the fact that a number of persons have a very narrow concept of the duties of the Front. They believe that the only duties the Front is confronted with are voluntary work and campaigns for electing different state organs. Hence, the other shortcoming that some people, amongst whom there are even some communists, underestimate the meetings of the Front.

We should do away with these negative phenomena which are to be noticed in the organizations of the Front. The Front meetings are most important political meetings. Its problems are the problems of the people's life. It should devote its attention to all the questions concerning the people, whether political, economic, ideological, social, cultural or educational ones. At the Front meetings, the free exchange of opinions should have full course in the most democratic form, by means of criticism and self-criticism, by means of dialectical development of the opposites. They should

become schools for the union and political education of the people, where the members of the Front come to know the policy and the directives of the Party, where they discuss keenly on the problems set forth by the Party or brought forth by life, and take decisions for carrying them out. We should combat all manifestations of formalism in the work of the organizations of the Front because formalism is a great evil which takes away the life out of its work and makes it a tedious burden, puts out the spirit from the heated discussions on the acute problems of our social life, throws the people into passivity and indifference.

We have now sufficient positive examples of an effective struggle against the manifestations of formalism in the life of the organizations of the Front. What did, for example, the recent meetings of the Front show, when acute social and ideological problems were set forth and were discussed in a high revolutionary spirit at these meetings? They were lively and combative meetings, resounding with the strong and just voice of the masses, with their hatred for everything that is old, backward and reactionary, they were meetings of great educational effect, which left deep

impression on the conscience of the people, and which, although often lasted for entire hours, sometimes even over several sittings, nobody wanted to leave them, their echo continued for entire days at the center of work, in streets and in families. This is how the meetings of the Front should be. We must sum up this experience, we must develop it and carry it forward.

Our Party and the Democratic Front have made extensive use of mass actions as a revolutionary method to promote production, the revolution, socialism and to educate people. This method has spread far and wide in our days. Many mass actions have been undertaken, many marvellous revolutionary mass actions and movements have burst forth today throughout our country. The specific feature of the present moment is that, in addition to many mass actions, movements and initiatives in the economic field, in production, mass actions, movements and initiatives in the ideological and cultural domain, in scientific experimentation and in raising the combative preparedness for the defense of the country have assumed great importance and wide extension. They have transformed the thinking of people, they have changed concepts deeply rooted

from one generation to another in a very short period of time and at a really revolutionary speed.

This method of mass actions, accompanied in all cases by large-scale elucidating and persuading work, individual or collective, should be adopted, developed, enriched and continually improved by the organizations of the Democratic Front which should insert it into the roots of their method and style of work.

Consolidation and vitalization of the Front Organization depend largely on the work of its leading organs and the persons elected by the people to these organs. The new elections to the Democratic Front that took place during last July and August in a sound revolutionary spirit, with lively discussions, criticism and self-criticism, strengthened further the make-up of the leading organs of the Front. To the head of the organizations of the Front in villages, city quarters, cities and districts there have been elected the best people, party or non-party members, men and women, old and young, outstanding activists of high political awareness. This is a guarantee for much more fruitful work in the days to come. But this is only one side of the question. The other side is for those elected to the organizations of the De-

mocratic Front to have a clear idea of their responsibility to the masses who have elected them, to justify the trust they have laid on them, and to honorably fulfil the tasks assigned to them. No one should consider this as drudgery but as a high social obligation.

The work of the Front is a social job which is carried out mainly on a voluntary basis and with the participation of all its members. No matter how hard the leading organs of the Front and the persons elected to them may exert themselves, they will never succeed in carrying through the great tasks of the Front if they fail to set in motion all the members of the organization and, first and foremost, its most outstanding activists. In many organizations of the Front in districts, villages and city quarters large groups of activists have emerged, engaged in solving problems of the Front, considering this as a high patriotic duty. There is a great deal of significance in what the Tropoja comrades say, namely, that when an activist of the Front is not assigned to any job for long he feels offended. We have thousands of such marvellous, patriotic and revolutionary people throughout our county. It is up to us to assign them tasks in the organization, to educate and activate

them for the various problems that preoccupy us. The circle of activists of the Front should not be limited only to some known persons. It should be broadened with new activists with whom it is necessary to carry on special educational work by the organs elected to the Front. Work with activists is of great importance involving the vitalization and consolidation of the Front Organization itself.

Twelve years have passed by since we approved the constitution of our Democratic Front. From the experience accumulated so far and in compliance with our new conditions, it turns out that certain amendments should be made which are embodied in the new draft-constitution distributed to all the delegates for discussion and approval.

III

ON SOME PROBLEMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

Comrades!

The People's Republic of Albania stands like a granitic rock and builds socialism holding the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other. History has taught us that in order to live a free and independent life we should always be on our guard and keep our powder dry. This becomes even more urgent in our days when the tendency to extend the aggressive aims and activities of the U.S. imperialists to put into practice their global strategy of world domination becomes more evident.

This has been corroborated by the escalation

of the dirty fascist aggression of the U.S. imperialists in Vietnam, the Israeli-imperialist attack on the Arab countries, the brutal interventions to suppress the liberation movements of peoples by fire and sword, the numerous schemes of the U.S. imperialists to destroy the socialist order everywhere.

The intensification of the aggressiveness of the U.S. imperialists is connected not only with the aggressive and enslaving nature of imperialism itself but also with the treachery of Khrushchevite revisionists who have encouraged and have aroused great hopes among the magnates of capital of the United States of America, among reactionaries of various countries, among all anti-communist and counterrevolutionary forces the world over. They know too well that their aggressive actions, far from being opposed by the Khrushchevite revisionist clique, find support in them. Life is proving the correctness of the conclusion of the 5th Party Congress on the Soviet-U.S. alliance, as one of the main features of the present international situation aiming at dividing the world into zones of influence and establishing the rule of the two «Super-Powers».

President Johnson's talks with traitor Kosygin at Glassborough mark a new very dangerous stage

of this monstrous alliance. New plots were hatched up there against socialism, peace and freedom of peoples. The effects of these talks are already being felt in many directions: in the further escalation of aggression in Vietnam, in the increased pressure to force on the Arab countries a settlement which is favorable for Izrael and for the Soviet-U.S. policy of dividing zones of influence, in the joint Soviet-U.S. draft-treaty banning the spread of atomic weapons, in organizing a fresh campaign of slanders and provocations against the People's Republic of China.

The U.S. imperialists and Soviet revisionists are playing all their cards to substantiate their joint agreements. On some occasions they pose as friends of one country or another, as freedom-lovers and peace-lovers, on others they pose as «generous» and offer economic and military aid. On another occasion, they threaten with atomic blackmail, with their fleets, with their military potential. And in everything they set in motion their puppets and bootlickers ranging from Pope Paul, the invertebrate agent and plotter, renegade Tito, to Indira Gandhi. On direct instructions by the U.S. Government and that of the Soviet Union, they travel from one country to another, make a

lot of earsplitting noise, use various means and forms to waylay world public opinion in order to make revolutionary people waver, to make them capitulate and submit to U.S. — Soviet rule.

But events are at the same time verifying that revolution forges ahead nonstop. It surmounts every obstacle and difficulty, frustrates the aggressive enslaving schemes of the imperialists and is becoming more and more a death dealing danger for them. The class struggle and the liberation revolutionary struggle of peoples against imperialism and its modern revisionist stooges have rapidly gripped nearly all continents, are shaking the very foundations of the old capitalist society and the colonial system, portending inevitable upheavels in various countries of the world and fresh victories for the revolution.

Peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America have taken up arms and are fighting with heroism. The Vietnamese people are setting a brilliant example through their heroic war. Hotbeds of revolutionary struggle are ablaze in Laos and Thailand, in South Arabia and Burma, in Angola and Mozambique, in «Portuguese» Guinea and the Congo, in Venezuela, Indonesia and elsewhere. The indignation and armed revolt of the colored

people in the United States of America has burst forth with unprecedented vehemence in the very lair of the imperialists. People have awakened, they have increased their political awareness, have become self-reliant and confident in their solidarity, take heart to fight at close quarters with the imperialists and come off triumphant. The experience of battle is convincing them that their common, principal and most ruthless enemy is U.S. imperialism. It is proving to them that Khrushchevite revisionists are not their allies and supporters but sham and dangerous friends, that they are servants and allies of imperialism and reaction who must be exposed and fought without mercy. This experience shows, at the same time, that no matter how big and powerful the imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries of all shapes may look on the surface, they are rotten within and powerless when faced with the force and impetus of the revolutionary struggle of peoples.

The imperialist-revisionist front has also been gripped within the jaws of the pincers of deep contradictions which gnaw at both of the parties from within. Now it is easier to see the wide gaps in their camp, into the centrifugal and polycentrist trends which are increasing and becoming more

inure, the chaos that reigns there, the insurmountable difficulties the U.S. imperialists and Khrushchevite revisionists are meeting with in order to keep their satellites under control. The rivalry between the two «Super-Powers» to wrest friends and satellites from each other is becoming even more apparent.

Europe is a typical arena of these deep contradictions, of this chaos, of the bitter struggle which is being waged in the pack of the imperialist and revisionist wolves. The Soviet and other revisionists proclaim far and wide their demagogical slogans about «calmness in Europe», about «European security», about «regions free of atomic weapons» etc. Many circles of the ruling bourgeoisie in capitalist Europe join in the chorus of these slogans. As a matter of fact, Europe has been turned into a large arena of rivalries, contradictions, negotiations and betrayals between capitalist, imperialist and revisionist cliques to the detriment of the freedom, sovereignty and independence of European peoples and of the peoples of the world.

Each one of these cliques is vying with the other to sell off and be sold off dearer to the other. Johnson's «bridges» have already been built in the

Soviet Union and other countries where the revisionist hold sway and trains go now freely over them without the least obstacle. All the revisionists are selling off their peoples to the imperialists and are trying to hide their treachery using the methods of the ostrich. Some of these play the role of prima donnas and parade dressed in robes of treason imagining that no one can see through them and detect who they really are; others are openly asserting that they are concluding old traditional friendships of their bourgeoisie and former monarchs.

Where will this policy of bargainings, capitulation and betrayal lead to? This will no doubt lead toward new bloody conflicts, to the establishment of open fascist military dictatorships, like in Greece, to a new Third World War. And this war which is being prepared under the cloak of «peaceful co-existence», of this great anti-revolutionary hoax, is being organized by the imperialists and Soviet revisionists.

Nevertheless, the last word will be said by the revolution which will smash the enemies of the people leaving no name or sign of them behind. And the revolution is being prepared, is rising and growing like a storm. The sooner this storm comes,

the more furious and merciless it becomes, the sooner will mankind get rid of their enemies who are the same, the consistent ones, but guised under different masks.

It is true that revolution requires courage, heroism, sacrifices, but these are the attributes of peoples, of communists, of patriotic revolutionaries. The enemies of the peoples who are afraid for themselves, strive to destroy these lofty virtues of the people through lies, demagoguery, pressure and terror in order to protect their oppressive regimes and plundered property. Let us, therefore, rise up in revolution and smash our enemies wherever they are and under whatever mask they conceal themselves; let us tear off their masks and shove them into their grave by fire and revolution.

The Soviet revisionists and all the revisionist cliques in power in Europe without exception are negotiating the vital interests of the German Democratic Republic. They consider it a stumbling block, an odious obstacle to their agreements with U.S. imperialism, with Bonn and with all European capitalists. European revisionists headed by those of the Soviet Union are smothering the German Democratic Republic more and more every passing day. They have clasped it into the pincers

of a plot hatched up in darkness which they are consistently carrying out each day and in all directions until they finally sell it off as a whole. Every slogan pronounced by these traitors in favor of the German Democratic Republic is pure and simple demagoguery. But while these inveterate traitors act in this way, how long will the people of the German Democratic Republic and the true German Marxist-Leninists tolerate this betrayal to themselves and to their socialist country, how long will they tolerate to have their hands and feet shackled and to see a new catastrophe in Europe?

It is necessary for you to rise against this betrayal rendering in this way a major service to your country, Europe, to the world and revolution! If you rise up against this major betrayal, the world will see that the German people of the German Democratic Republic have drawn deep lessons from the catastrophe brought about by the Hitlerites, that they see that the new Hitlerites are preparing a new slaughter, that Johnsons and Kissingers, that Brezhnev and Kosygin, these new Trotskys and Tucachevskys, are whetting their knives. The Albanian people and their Party of Labour will always support, as up to now, the just cause of the German Democratic Republic.

In order to safeguard and strengthen their own position the revisionist cliques of certain European States of the People's Democracy try to resolve the major economic and political difficulties brought about by their treacherous course, conducting direct negotiations of submission with the U.S., West-German, French and other imperialists, challenging in this way the hegemonistic policy of the leading clique of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the different imperialist powers are vying with one another to draw the socialist countries into their own orbit and to step up the restoration of capitalism in these countries.

As a consequence of this treacherous policy, it is not only the socialist order which is at stake but the very national independence of some East-European states as well. Under such conditions the fraternal peoples of these countries should not feel free to await the catastrophe in calmness. This should not be allowed, first and foremost, to the great Soviet people. It is a major crime that 50 years after the Great October-Socialist Revolution which, under Lenin's and Stalin's leadership, inaugurated the epoch of liberating mankind from all oppression and exploitation, the epoch of the triumph of socialism and communism, a clique of

renegade traitors should steer the Soviet Union towards the restoration of capitalism, turn the glorious country of the Soviet from a bastion of revolution and freedom of peoples, which it had been during the heroic days of the Bolsheviks, to an imperialist power, smotherer of the flames of revolutionary wars. We cannot believe that the Soviet people are not yet seeing the great treachery of those who have usurped the leadership of the Soviet Party and State, that they are not seeing the abyss down which their country is being shoved. We do not believe that they are not seeing and feeling the isolation of the Soviet Union by its real friends and by the people of the world, that they are not seeing how the treacherous revisionist clique is destroying the glorious work of Lenin and Stalin, of the Bolshevik Party and of millions of Soviet people.

We believe the Soviet peoples and genuine Soviet Marxist-Leninists will no longer tolerate listening to the repelling lies of the press and broadcasts of the revisionists clique claiming that they are allegedly defending the peoples, that they are allegedly fighting U.S. imperialism, and that they allegedly enjoy the support of the communist parties of the world.

The Soviet people cannot help revolting against these crude lies and this mean demagoguery of the Khrushchevites who, on one side have been in complete union with the U.S. imperialists and all reactionaries and, on the other, fight and conspire ruthlessly against the People's Republic of Albania and the People's Republic of China, against Marxist-Leninist parties, against revolution and the freedom of peoples.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Communist Party of China, the Albanian people and the Chinese people, just like all Marxist-Leninists, have frustrated with courage and determination all the plots and activities of the Khrushchevite revisionists and will never permit these dangerous traitors and close collaborators of imperialism to ever succeed in realizing the evil intentions they nurture against us. But the high interests of Marxism-Leninism, of revolution and socialism in the world demand of all genuine revolutionaries, of all communist faithful to the victorious teachings of Marxism-Leninism, to rise and tear off the «anti-imperialist» and «socialist» mask of the Soviet Khrushchevite revisionist leaders so that the true treacherous features of these renegades, plotters and close collaborators of imperialism

and the entire world reaction may be laid bare before the whole world.

In this state of major historic responsibility for the destiny of the international communist movement, for the future of revolution and communism, the world expects a lot from the revolutionaries, bolsheviks and all the Soviet people, from the country which was the first to raise the banner of revolution and inaugurated the glorious epoch of socialism.

What are you doing and what will you do, Soviet brothers? Can it be that you have been intimidated by the revisionists, can you have lost all hope in revolution and communism and have plunged into apathy? We don't believe this. Lenin, Stalin, your glorious Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, the Great October Revolution have taught us to lend credit to deeds not to words. We and all the peoples are waiting to see your revolutionary deeds like those of the most heroic days of your past, we are waiting and are convinced that the revolution will again break out in the Soviet Union to smash the treacherous revisionists.

History will pass good or bad judgment on you. We are convinced that it will be for the better and the sooner you get to work, the better it

will be for you, for the sake of all the peoples, for the sake of revolution.

Firmly pursuing its principled revolutionary foreign policy, the People's Republic of Albania has never stood and never stands aloof from international events. Our Party and Government have courageously said their word on these events and have rendered and render in this way their contribution to the struggle to secure peace in Europe and in the world, to expose the aggressive and enslaving policy of the imperialists and the treacherous counter-revolutionary policy of Khrushchevite revisionists. They have condemned and will always condemn all bargainings between imperialists and revisionists at the expense of peoples, they will lend unreserved support to liberation, anti-imperialist wars and will continually strengthen their solidarity with all forces that fight against imperialism, against reaction and against revisionism.

The Albanian people, their Party and Government have been bound by unbreakable links of Marxist-Leninist friendship with great people's China and the glorious Communist Party of China, led by the outstanding Marxist-Leninist Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Our two parties and peoples pre-

serve and temper this friendship more and more each passing day. The People's Republic of China marches triumphantly ahead on the road of revolution and socialist construction. The great Chinese proletarian cultural revolution is successfully developing against open and covert revisionist elements, against all enemies of the class, for the further consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. China has been turned into the main and insuperable bastion of revolution and socialism in Asia and in the world, into the standard bearer of Marxism-Leninism in the struggle against U.S.-led imperialism, against modern revisionism and reactionary cliques of all hues. It is precisely for this reason that the imperialists of the United States of America and the Soviet revisionists have directed the main spearhead of their strategy and of their counter-revolutionary activity towards People's China. That is why they strive to close the fire ring of reaction and of aggressive war around it, that is why they launch hysterical attacks and slanders against the Chinese proletarian cultural revolution and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, the great and glorious leader of the Chinese people. That is why they are scared to death by the atomic and hydrogen bombs which

are being developed in China, by every success and victory the Chinese people score in their revolutionary way.

But let the enemy rage and shiver. There is no force on earth capable of stopping the progress of the 700 million Chinese people towards socialism and communism. The flames of the proletarian cultural revolution will sweep away all the enemies of the class, will do short work with China's Khrushchevs and will turn all hopes of the imperialists and modern revisionists into dust and ashes. It set a great example to overthrow the revisionist cliques in power anywhere. People's China will stand out, as always, like an insuperable bastion of socialism, a powerful basis of revolution, and the Communist Party of China a standard bearer of Marxism-Leninism.

We rejoice at and hail with all our heart the major achievements which the Chinese people are attaining under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Tse-tung. We are proud of having so loyal and powerful an ally and friend. There is no wave, no storm, from wherever quarter it may come, that can weaken and impair the unbreakable friendship between our countries and our Parties, a friendship based on

the steellike foundation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. We deem it our duty to stress once again that the steellike solidarity of Marxist-Leninist forces, and of all revolutionary forces the world over with the Communist Party and the People's Republic of China is an objective necessity of historic importance for the destiny of revolution, socialism and freedom of peoples.

Our people, Party and Government will continue to lend unreserved support up to the end to the liberation war of the Vietnamese people, which we have considered and consider as our own war, as a war that serves the common cause of revolution and socialism.

The armed struggle of the Vietnamese people is a hard blow at U.S. imperialism and a major stumbling block to the realization of its rapacious schemes. The significant triumphs the Vietnamese people have scored in this war have given the lie once and for all time to the myth of the power of military superiority and up-to-date armaments. Events in Vietnam went to show that whenever the people of a country, however few in numbers, fight with determination and unswervingly for their freedom and independence, may successfully

resist and win even when they are face to face with powerful enemies, the U.S. Imperialists included.

But the Vietnam war tore also the mask to the Khrushchevite revisionists disclosing all the falsity, hypocrisy and demagogy of their policy of capitulation. It was finally proved that the aim of the revisionists was not to aid the Vietnamese people to liberate the South and to unite their country but to rescue U.S. imperialism, to help it stay in Vietnam and turn this country into a «place d'armes» against the People's Republic of China and other Asian countries. Khrushchevite revisionists try to play the role of Trojan Horse in Vietnam and to hatch up one thousand and one vicious schemes and plots, to use pressures and frauds of the most varied kinds to force Vietnam to accept Johnson's «peaceful talks». But they have never succeeded and will never succeed to impair the determination of the Vietnamese people, to quell down their liberation struggle.

There is no doubt that now, following the conspiracy at Glassborough, the heroic Vietnamese people will increase their vigilance in order to be always prepared to cope successfully with the new imperialist and revisionist plots, to turn into dust

and ashes the new military, political, diplomatic and demagogical pressures that are being exerted towards them.

We have stated firmly and publicly that the attitude towards Vietnam is a clear-cut borderline that separates imperialists from the people, the Marxist-Leninists from revisionists. The struggle of the Vietnamese people serves the general cause of revolution, socialism and liberation of peoples. Therefore, solidarity with and support for the war of the Vietnamese people are not a gesture of benevolence, as the revisionists claim, but a high internationalist obligation for every revolutionary. But for this aid to be effective and of use, it is necessary to energetically discard the demagogic and fraudulent slogans of Khrushchevite revisionist about «unity to aid Vietnam» or a «joint front against imperialism». Exposure and firm and total frustration of the treacherous policy and demagoguery of the Soviet revisionists is an essential and preliminary condition for the triumph of the Vietnamese people in the fight against U.S. imperialism.

Our people, as always, will be at one with the just struggle of the Arab people against U.S. imperialism and its tool, Izrael. We have unshaken

confidence that these people will succeed in overcoming all the temporary difficulties, will smash the aggressors and will score final victory over imperialists and their servants, relying, first and foremost, on their own efforts as well as on the support of revolutionary peoples lending no credit to sham friends, the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists.

Our brothers, the Arab people are brave, revolutionary, with a brilliant past, ancient culture and bright future in their record. They are playing today and will continue to play in the days to come a significant revolutionary role in the world. They have won their freedom and independence through protracted wars and are consolidating them more and more each passing day. Just as all other revolutionary countries and peoples of the world, they have enemies galore both in their countries and abroad. But the sense of Arab unity, a very progressive at that, has taken deep root among the Arab people although there are still many contradictions in this Arab unity which are instigated by the imperialists, revisionists and various reactionaries. But this unity is being tempered through the conflict of these opposites. This revolutionary Arab unity will no doubt promote

progress and will surely lead towards real democracy, towards the consolidation of people's power and of each sovereign state. This will occur because all the Arab states in unity are in open and constant conflict with U.S. imperialism, with its various despicable tools like Izrael, with modern Soviet revisionism, this new imperialism which intends to place Arab people under bondage again.

While dealing a treacherous and unexpected blow at the Arab people, the U.S. imperialist and their allies, the Soviet revisionists, are in a hurry to consolidate the gains of their aggression by exerting pressure on Arab countries. The imperialist and revisionist powers have now resorted to old Oriental politics. This is the policy of modern cannoneers, of pressures and blackmail, the policy of «divide and rule». They brutally trample underfoot the vital interests of the Arab people in general and of the Palestinian Arab people in particular, in favor of Zionist Izrael, this ugly offspring of imperialism and a pistol in the hands of the U.S. imperialists. But intrigues are short-lived. The Arab people will never lay down their weapons; they will keep up their revolutionary struggle. Every imperialist-revisionist settlement will stand on a volcano in full eruption.

But we are fully convinced that the enemies of the Arab people will meet with failure. We are certain of one thing that our Arab brothers are fully aware of the maneuvers and intentions of the U.S. imperialists, Soviet, Titoite revisionists and of other pups of imperialism. And this is a principal and decisive factor to achieve victory. When you know the enemy, no matter how strong he may appear to be, you are bound to shove him to his grave. And the Arab people are digging the grave of their avowed enemies who are, at the same time our enemies, the enemies of all peoples.

The Arab people are strong, all the people attached to them are strong and we together will win. We will knock down our common enemies and spell their doom. On the occasion of this Congress we send our Arab brothers our heartiest salutations and tell them that the Albanian people are and will always be with them both in days of weal and in days of woe.

The revolutionary foreign policy of our Party and Government enjoys the full support of all the Albanian people united in the Democratic Front. Thanks to this policy, the People's Republic of Albania has won the international authority it

deserves, sincere friends and supporters throughout the world.

Socialist Albania is a peace-loving country threatening and intimidating no one. Through its just and correct foreign policy the People's Republic of Albania has always aimed at living under normal conditions of neighbourliness with the three neighbours round about it. It is all the same for us if any of these, not for our fault, dislikes this normal and correct neighbourliness; socialism keeps flourishing in Albania.

The Greek monarchic fascists have been stating for the last twenty-five years in succession that they are «in a state of war with Albania» for the «convincing» reason that fascist Italy which attacked and occupied Albania in 1939, attacked also Greece. It requires only the logic of a Greek fascist to blabber for twenty five years at a stretch about this «ingenious and unique idea».

But we say to the Greek fascists: «Don't you see that the People's Republic of Albania does not give a darn that you declare you are in a state of war with it!»

But behind this absurd intention there stands another aggressive intention far more absurd, that

of territorial revendications on our country by the pseudo-palikars of Athens. They claim South Albania since, according to them, it turns out to be Greek territory!

Greek monarchic fascists and their allies in the Balkans and abroad imagine to be living in those times when the chauvinist cliques of the Balkans, assisted by imperialist Powers, used to attack Albania, chop it up, snatch away large tracts of land and enslave a large section of its population.

We say to the Greek monarchic fascists and their friends: «Keep your heads on for history is not repeated twice! Who dares encroach upon the sacred borders of our homeland will meet his doom!»

The fascists of Athens and those of Janina who are ruthlessly oppressing the Greek people, who have set up their odious military dictatorship, who filled their jails and islands of extermination with people, howl like dogs to the moon and imagine that the day has come for pieces of meat to fall from the moon for them! They hold fairs, deliver speeches and revendicate South Albania.

We say to the Greek monarchic fascists: «No men have yet been born to be able to intimidate

the Albanians»! The boundaries of Albania and Albanian territory are protected by a people and Party who shower bullets on all those who would dare to encroach upon them!

But it is our duty to warn them: «Do not tread on air, for in case you embark on any venture, you will be heavily punished; if you encroach on our borders, we will turn you to mud; if you think that you possess superiority in men and armaments and that you would gulp down socialist Albania in no time, try it and see how much your skin is worth, if you are planning to bring the flames of battle to our borders, we tell you that these flames will burn down your own homes and then we will clear accounts with you and the wrongs and gross injustices committed against Albania throughout history by the Balkan chauvinist cliques and various imperialists will most certainly be righted».

One other thing we should like to say to the Greek monarchic fascists and U. S. imperialists, their acolytes and instigators in crime: «It is not only the borders of Albania that are unsurmountable since they are protected by a brave people and an eagle-like Party, but Albania is neither alone nor isolated. If you encroach upon our borders,

bear well in mind that the aid which will come to socialist Albania in its defense will know no state borders whatsoever».

We believe that the Greek monarchic fascists will have no misunderstanding about this matter.

The Greek monarchic fascists are both mangy and extremely greedy, steering their bloody eyes in all direction. They forgot the heavy blows the brave Turkish people, led by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, dealt at Venizelos's hordes and who are again prepared to deal another blow at them, if they (the Greeks) infringe upon the vital and sovereign interests of their brave brothers of Cyprus, whose legitimate rights the Albanian people and their Government have upheld and will continue to uphold also in the days to come.

Now a few words about the modern revisionists headed by those of the Soviet Union: We say to them: You are allies of the U.S. imperialists and Greek monarchic fascists against the People's Republic of Albania, therefore it is futile for you to shed crocodile tears and call upon that rag of a Warsaw Treaty to allegedly come to Albania's aid. The Albanians know you tooth and nail though they may be atomic teeth at that. We are not at all scared of you and we take no notice either of

your crocodile tears, the Warsaw Treaty, or your fake aids in time of danger. We are able to cope with every danger successfully by ourselves. If you raise the dagger masked with demagoguery against us, be sure that we shall point the rifle at you and the thunder of our rifle will be heard in the Soviet Union and in your countries where the mighty fist of the heroic Leninists and Stalinists, of the brave fraternal Soviet people will be raised over your heads like a windstorm. Your end will then have been sealed.

We believe that modern revisionists led by Soviet revisionists will have no misunderstandings about this matter either.

Socialist Albania will live for ages a free, sovereign and independent country. It will always stand out as an example of the vitality and heroism of a marvellous and patriotic people, closely united in the Democratic Front round their heroic Party of Labour which, within these last twenty-five years has made new Albania strong and inviolable, surrounded by the fiery devotion of sincere friends and of the revolutionary people of the world.

Dear Comrades!

We are all of us proud of our great political organization of the Democratic Front, of the incalculable contribution it has rendered and renders to make our socialist homeland more beautiful, more powerful and more prosperous.

The tasks this Congress will line out will be for all the Front members a great program of work and revolutionary struggle to turn into reality the brilliant prospects our 5th Party Congress opened up for the future of the country.

Let us exert all our efforts, let us arouse all the people for the great struggle to further develop the revolution, to build socialism and strengthen the defense of our country. Let us spare no time or efforts to preserve like the apple of our eyes and further strengthen the monolithic unity of our people round our Party which has been and always is the decisive condition in our triumphant march.

Comrades, let us set to work with more zeal to fulfil with success the great tasks that the 4th five-year plan has envisaged in all domains, for there is nothing more sacred and nobler than to exert your efforts, use your talents and shed your

sweat for socialism, for the prosperity of the country, to make the life of the people happier, richer and more enjoyable. Let us intensify the efforts of the Democratic Front especially towards the countryside, to carry further ahead the revolutionary drive and initiatives of the patriotic cooperative peasants for the further development of agriculture and for the all-round economic, educational and cultural uplift of the peasantry and, particularly, of the mountain folk.

The Democratic Front will continue to be, as it has been so far, an unswerving promoter of progress and a determined fighter to do away with backwardness and to spread knowledge, culture and the proletarian ideology, as well as to uproot everything which is alien, out-dated and reactionary, pave the road for what is new and progressive so that the creative spirit, the inexhaustible energies, talents and initiatives of our glorious people, men and women, old and young, may burst forth with fresh vigor.

The organizations of the Democratic Front should always keep ablaze in the heart of every Albanian the flames of unbounded affection for the Party and his socialist homeland, they should sharpen his revolutionary vigilance and raise his

combative preparedness, so that our people may always be alert to cope with any danger and smash any enemy of our People's Republic.

With our heroic Party in the lead, holding aloft the banner of victorious Marxism-Leninism, united as one in the Democratic Front, let us always march ahead along the bright road towards socialism and communism.

Long live our heroic, hard-working and revolutionary people!

Long live our glorious Party of Labor, organizer and promoter of all our victories!

Long live the Democratic Front of Albania!

Forward, always forward towards further and greater victories!

CONTENTS

	Page
I. THE HISTORIC ROLE OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT IN THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY, DEFENCE OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION	10
1. The Party of Labour of Albania — the Sole Guiding Force and Political Party in our Country	11
2. The Front as Principal Link in the Political Union of our People	21
3. The Role of the Front in the Struggle to Build Socialism	32
II. THE ACTUAL TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC FRONT TO PUT INTO PRACTICE THE IDEAS AND RESOLUTIONS OF THE 5th PARTY CONGRESS.	48
1. Strengthening the Political Unity of the People has been and remains the Fundamental Task of the Democratic Front	49
2. The Role of the Democratic Front in Further Strengthening the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Extending Socialist Democracy	59
3. Increase the Activity of the Democratic Front to Solve Social Problems	68

	Page
4. Let us Further Vitalize the Organization of the Democratic Front, Raise its Combative Spirit of Self-activity.	88
III. ON SOME PROBLEMS OF THE INTERNATIO- NAL SITUATION.	96